

## Collecting with Cook: The Forsters and their Artifact Sales

Ruth Dawson

The first official scientist ever appointed and paid by the British Government to sail around the world was a diligent but difficult German named Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1798). For his efforts and expenses he was paid the almost lavish sum of £4000. In other ways too, the appointment was astonishingly generous on the government's part: Forster was given no specific instructions or assignments, required to submit no report of his findings, and permitted to keep all his records and his collections. More concerned, it seems, about his rights than his duties, Forster expected on his return to receive another lucrative appointment as well, as author of the official account of the voyage; the handsome volumes would be subsidized by the Admiralty but sold to the public at the profit of the writer. And, as an additional financial bonus, Forster expected to sell artifacts and specimens from the immense collection he had gathered on the trip.

Yet in the years after the *Resolution* returned to England, Forster—with his spendthrift ways and his offensive quarrelsomeness towards all authority—saw the money and opportunities disappearing at an alarming rate. The £4000 were mostly gone before he even returned from the trip.<sup>1</sup> Then after a prolonged argument with the Admiralty he was rejected as the official reporter and indeed forbidden to write any narrative account of the voyage.<sup>2</sup> In an obvious evasion of this order, he set his gifted son George, who had accompanied him as assistant and draftsman, to write his own account in the elder Forster's stead. Through a frenzy of hard work George was able to see his two unauthorized volumes, entitled, *Voyage round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution*, reach the bookstores a few weeks before the official account, but the public evidently preferred the illustrated government version, which was written by Cook himself with the help of an editor. Nevertheless, it is this well-written and perceptive work and his translation of it into

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Ruth P. Dawson is an Assistant Professor in the Honors Program and Assistant Director of Liberal Studies at the University of Hawaii at Monoa.

German which eventually established George Forster (1754-1794) as an expert on the Pacific and which began his reputation as a writer, especially in German.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, two years after the voyage, only the collections remained as a source of money. A young German doctor and natural scientist, Carl Heinrich Titius (1744-1813), who visited the Forsters in 1777, described the "sheets of plants, animals, and insects from the South Seas painted from nature, the most beautiful shells from there, and also weapons, art works, and tools of the inhabitants of Tahiti and other southern islanders," and added, "All this they want to sell to fanciers for cheap prices." With forgiveable lack of prescience Dr. Titius warned: "Since the newly discovered islands really offer no particular trading prospects, it is not probable that journeys will be made there very frequently; therefore people will find little opportunity other than this one to obtain the rarities of those regions."<sup>4</sup> In one sense, Dr. Titius' warning was correct. After the visits of the Europeans and the reception of their presents, especially iron tools, the cultures of the islands were transformed. The collections made on the early voyages and the descriptions written by those first travelers have become priceless records of what the Polynesian and Micronesian cultures were like before the arrival of the white strangers. It is a sale of such artifacts by their young collector, George Forster, that interests us here.

Together the two Forsters worked energetically during the trip gathering specimens and artifacts. William Wales, the astronomer on the voyage and one of the people with whom Forster often quarrelled, vividly describes their collecting in a pamphlet he wrote attacking the elder Forster. Wrote Wales,

Dr. Forster takes occasion to ridicule, in very pointed terms, the eagerness of the seamen for curiosities. It may be remarked, that there can be no good reason given why the seamen should not be as fond of curiosities as himself. None purchased those things with more avidity than he did. He knows well, that even when the purchasing of those things was strictly forbid, and that neither seamen nor officers presumed to attempt it, he and his son frequently purchased them out of the cabin windows.

While their methods of collecting were one source of contention, the value of the "curiosities" also caused problems, as Wales indicates: "... the seamen had another motive for purchasing those things, and which [Dr. Forster] had not. They well knew, from experience, that if they were fortunate enough to buy a more curious weapon, or thing of any kind, than he had done, that they could afterwards sell them to him for two, three, and even four dollars, and sometimes more than that." Slightly later Wales adds: "For I again assert, that no person on board the ship shewed more eagerness after those things than Messrs. Forsters did, neither did any person, I believe, bring home so large a quantity."<sup>5</sup>

Whatever the cost of an item on board ship, Dr. Forster was no doubt confident it would be immeasurably more valuable once the voyagers returned to England, where dealers and collectors would bid for the best. The immigrant German already had experience of this sort. When he and his then

twelve-year-old son originally came to England in 1766 he sold artifacts brought along from Russia, where the restless pair had spent the previous year and a half.

On their return from the voyage with Cook almost everyone on board the *Resolution* must have brought back items to sell, as even Wales obliquely admits. Only a few months after the ship reached England a prominent British shell collector, Henry Seymer (1754–1800), wrote about one way in which some of the rare finds from the second voyage were dispersed: “Saturday last I rec[eive]d a Catalogue of Shells, brought by the *Resolution*, which are to be sold this week at Langfords; it consists of 480 Lots, not all shells, but Arms, ornaments, Utensils &c: of the Natives, intermixt; a Cargo which a dealer, one Jackson, bought at Portsmouth & of which I dare say he will make 400 pr. Ct. [per cent] tho I know most of the capital things have been dispos’d of some time [ago]. Cook and Forster I dare say secur[e]d the best before they came home, & will make a fine penny of them.”<sup>6</sup> Evidently it was no secret what lucrative trade this could be.

While the Forsters were indeed planning to profit from their collections and were sometimes overzealous in acquiring them, they were also serious scientists and true scientific collectors. Of all the portraits of participants on Cook’s three voyages of discovery, the painting of the Forsters is the only one that depicts its subjects at their work, performing actual scientific fieldwork in the tropics.<sup>7</sup> Unlike other collectors on the voyages, George Forster often mentioned in his account what items they had collected, when, and where. Added to this useful information are meticulously prepared copper plates showing a number of the artifacts as they appeared soon after being brought to England. (Although the plates were commissioned and supervised by the Forsters, they were paid for by the Admiralty and so appeared in the official account rather than in their own.) In short, for both scholarly and commercial reasons the Forsters had worked hard to assemble a superb collection.

Because they gathered almost every sort of new object that they encountered, including, as Titius pointed out, a herbarium, shells, and artifacts, and because the collection is relatively well documented, it is of enormous interest today for what it can show of South Pacific cultures and environments—some, such as Tanna, completely undisturbed by previous European contacts, others, like Easter Island, found half a century before and then lost again, and still others, especially Tahiti, already growing familiar with ships from France, Spain and England.

Exactly what objects the Forster collections once included is not fully known. Even at the time the items could be difficult to identify. The shell collector Seymer remarked in his letter, “This catalogue is as unintelligible as usual, insomuch that I don’t know the meaning of ten articles in it.” The fault did not lie entirely with an ignorant dealer’s inability to describe. After all, what was industrializing England—with its steam engines, new canals, and plans for an iron bridge—to make of dogtooth necklaces, wooden headrests, and sharkskin drums? Assigned as usual any onerous duty, including the preparation of catalogues when portions of the collection were dealt out, the

younger Forster himself wrote lists containing almost no description, although he of all people knew where and how the objects were used and had seen the world to which they belonged. Regrettably, neither Forster ever got around to preparing a complete catalogue of any of their collections.

Titius' praise for the low price of the rarities clearly indicates the Forsters' increasingly urgent need for money in the two years since their return. As more time passed, the collectors gradually dispersed what they had so painstakingly gathered. At his own death in 1798, four years after the death of his son, Reinhold Forster owned only a small remnant of 157 items, which his widow sold to a museum in Göttingen. With unintelligible or absent description at the start, followed by numerous undocumented sales and gifts, changes in the fashions of collecting, and the passage of two hundred years, it is easy to understand why identifying original Polynesian and Melanesian artifacts has become such a difficult task. Still, several portions of the Forster collections can be identified,<sup>8</sup> sometimes through recent discoveries, though even for these, the known parts, there is usually an important gap in the information.

J. R. Forster had the spendthrift's ridiculous confidence that no one could settle money matters as skillfully as he. Rather than working through a London dealer, he hoped to sell "curiosities" from his collection privately, often using his son as a tool. In most instances, of course, the elder Forster relied on old friends or sought out new acquaintances to extend the circle of possible clients. By 1777, just two years after the *Resolution* returned to England, father and son were actively seeking wealthy customers for their rarities. Dr. Titius, who became acquainted with the Forsters in London that year, traveled with George to Paris in October and November and participated in some of the sales efforts there. George may have been concentrating at the time on finding customers for the pressed plants; a breakfast announcement invites André Thouin and Charles Etienne Baron de Coguebert de Montbret as well as Dr. Titius to inspect a "small herbarium of the southern isles." The success of this hospitality is not known,<sup>9</sup> and the genteel advertisement Titius wrote in his travel account was of no immediate help as it remained unpublished until 1784. Still, Forster did at least arouse the interest of a few Paris acquaintances in the artifact collection. In Philadelphia two letters are preserved written by George to an intermediary for a potential sale. In Wellington, New Zealand, is a Forster catalogue. And in Florence, Italy, may be the artifacts to which the Philadelphia correspondence and Wellington catalogue refer.

The letters are addressed to a young Florentine with whom George became acquainted in Paris. His name was imposing enough: Giovanni Valentino Mattia Fabroni (1752-1822).<sup>10</sup> Although no arrangement was agreed on at the time, the Forsters began hoping soon after George's trip that by using his helpful new friend as a conduit to Francesco Favi, a member of the Tuscan delegation in Paris, they might be able to make an important deal. Their target in fact was the Grand Duke of Florence. In his first letter to Fabroni George does not mention artifacts, but in the second that soon followed he proposed a sale and provided a list of items it might include.<sup>11</sup>

Forster wrote the first letter on Christmas Day, 1777, to introduce to Fabroni yet another acquaintance, a German named Born.<sup>12</sup> While the awkward French composition does not parallel Forster's fine style in English and German, the letter opens a correspondence important both for the light it sheds on rare artifacts and for the detail about some of the influential men whom the young German writer had met while in France. Allusions to freemasonry are prominent in the letter, particularly in the French abbreviations with a characteristic triangle of three does, such as ch.: f., *cher frère*,<sup>13</sup> not reproduced in the translation.<sup>14</sup>

Monsieur and very dear brother,

It is with the greatest pleasure that I send this letter to you by way of our dear brother Counselor Born, whom I introduce to you by this means. In this way I try to acquit myself toward you of the kindness which you have lavished on me. I cannot demonstrate more feelingly my attachment than by sharing that which I hold most dear and cherished in the world. I entrust to you the task of making our dear brother acquainted at the Lodge of the Nine Sisters and especially with very venerable de La Lande, to whom I have so many obligations. The people of merit are destined to meet each other and to esteem one another. It is this which impels me regretfully to end this letter so abruptly, so that I can yet give several of my friends in Paris the pleasure of meeting Mr. Born, who is German and a countryman of our brother Dr. Titius. You, being half-German, will be, I am sure, one of the most agreeable acquaintances I can find for him. Pardon my precipitous conclusion; I promise this letter will be followed by another as soon as my numerous occupations give me a free moment. I remain for all the years of my life with the most tender friendship.

London  
No 16 Percystreet, Rathbone place  
December 25, 1777

your  
very affectionate & devoted brother  
George Forster

P.S. I beg you to present my respects to Mr. Favi, as well as to Messieurs Rouelle and D'Arcet, to whom I am infinitely obliged.

The letter, written in the effusive manner of the sentimental period, is short and hasty. In introducing his friend, Forster stresses two things that Fabroni, Born and he all have in common: German heritage and freemasonry. Of particular interest is the reference to perhaps the most remarkable masonic lodge of its time, *Les neuf Soeurs*. Founded in 1776, it was an international gathering place for men of learning in the arts and sciences, and for almost a decade it flourished. Apparently Forster himself had actually joined this lodge,<sup>15</sup> and he obviously enjoyed meeting its members. As the letter makes clear, he was acquainted with Joseph Jerome le Francais de La Lande, venerable master of the Nine Sisters and a noted astronomer, and in the diary he briefly kept Forster describes meeting the lodge's most illustrious member at the time, Benjamin Franklin. On April 7, 1778, a few months after Forster wrote his friend Fabroni, the young Florentine had the privilege of assisting Franklin when yet another highly renowned man joined the lodge, the aged Voltaire.<sup>16</sup>

As the letter shows, Forster and Fabroni had other mutual friends from scientific circles too, particularly Hilaire-Marin Rouelle (1718-1779) and Jean

D'Arect (1725-1801), both chemists.<sup>17</sup> Francesco Favi, the Tuscan diplomat to whom Forster sends his greetings, plays a special role in George Forster's next letter.

Another acquaintance, whom the Forsters were entertaining in London during the months of the letters to Fabroni, had offered both father and son positions in Germany. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (1741-1792), already notorious for his theological quarrels, was in London to find pupils for his latest foundering experiment, a school in one of Germany's tiny principalities. Ever receptive to visitors from abroad, the Forsters helped compose and distribute brochures for Bahrdt's project.<sup>18</sup> He in turn, hoping no doubt to capitalize on their fame, invited them to join the Philanthropinum faculty. Although in early January 1778 the younger Forster was apparently thinking seriously about the possibility,<sup>19</sup> by the time he wrote his second letter to Fabroni, in February, he had become rightly skeptical. (Shortly after Bahrdt's return to Germany the school collapsed.) And with that prospect for earning a regular salary disappearing, the Forsters had again to find customers for their collections.

People of wealth were needed if sufficient funds were to be raised. Perhaps, the Forsters reasoned, George's Italian friend, who hoped to visit them in London later that year, could act the intermediary to the diplomat Favi? And Favi then would be the channel to the Grand Duke of Florence and his cabinet of curiosities. In February of 1778 Forster writes Fabroni of the plan.

For a very long time, Monsieur and very dear brother, I have owed you a thousand thanks for the kindnesses which you showed my friend Mr. Born on my behalf. This mark of your favorable sentiments cannot fail to tie the knots of mutual attachment which unites us, although your kindness and your heart have always been so dear that I have needed no new proofs. I wish, my dear brother, I could do the same for you; I even hope for a favorable occasion to demonstrate my thankfulness if I am in this country when you come here. But the uncertainty of my fate and the urgent necessity of seeking a position somewhere make my stay in England more precarious from day to day. There is even a slight chance that I will move soon to my country, Germany, where I have an offer that is in fact inconsiderable, but nevertheless precious for a young man who is growing older.

What would cause me the most regret would be to leave London at a time when it is probable that you will be here. Therefore I pray you to inform me immediately about that and to write if you are still planning to spend next spring or summer here?

I recall precisely the obliging offers of Mr. Favi about the artifacts which we brought back (my father and I) from the South Sea. As a result of what he said to me then, I have taken the liberty of including here a (not detailed but) general and incomplete catalogue of various articles which would seem the most important and the most worthy of belonging to the cabinet of the Grand Duke. All these articles are still in our hands, but it is too heavy a burden for an individual, especially for a poor scholar, with a large family, to keep things in storerooms all the time which have cost him considerable sums. It is finally time to get rid of them. If Mr. Favi believes that they would be worthy of being placed in the cabinet of the Grand Duke of Florence, he would render us a very important service by sending the catalogue to the people who dispose of these matters, and I pray you to write me about this as soon as possible. You understand that I am not in a position to present gifts to the Grand Duke without expecting some return; also I believe that it is folly for people to make gifts to great noblemen. I can not claim to name a price, but princes have in their power the marks of unequivocal benevolence, such as for example rare coins or books. One would no doubt not fail to match the



munificence to the value and rarity of the items which we would be able to send. I beg you finally to say a thousand agreeable things to Mr. Favi on my behalf.

When you see Mr. de La Lande and all his friends, who are always dear and estimable to me, I pray you to affirm to them the sincere attachment of one who is infinitely conscious of his friendship to them, and of his unswerving fidelity to you, calling himself, forever,

Monsieur and very dear brother,

Your very devoted brother

G. Forster

London

Percy Street No 16

February 17, 1778

P.S. I have received no news from our dear Dr. Titius. Is it misfortune, sickness—or negligence?

Although Forster may have received no reply yet to his first letter, he had learned that Fabroni was indeed kind and helpful to Born, and he repeats his assertions of friendship.

The main part of the young Forster's letter illustrates the manner in which the anxious collectors sought buyers and attempted to reach the rich. Forster first gives a quite deceptive explanation of why the artifacts are being put on sale, mentioning the cost to his father of keeping them, as well as the original costs of the purchases, but concealing as much as possible the family's actual financial distress and especially Reinhold's outrageous debts. Of course later on when Fabroni visited London he must have found out more about the Forsters' unending financial predicaments. In a still preserved note to Fabroni at that time, Reinhold pled temporary monetary embarrassment—the friends from whom he was ostensibly accustomed to borrowing being unexpectedly out of town—and requested a small loan. But at the time of George's first letters, Fabroni was still unacquainted with this chronic need. George therefore makes it quite plain that what he and his father are offering is not to be an unreciprocated gift. Once before when they had presented live rare birds to no less a personage than the Queen of England, they had remained totally without compensation.<sup>20</sup> Still, for men who felt they had been cheated by noblemen from Russia to England, the Forsters leave their terms peculiarly open. Since they wish to appeal to the feelings of philanthropy toward an impoverished scholar and to the sense of honor of the Grand Duke, they prefer to let him make an offer, knowing that his reputation might be at stake. Reinhold Forster seemed to think that the only human motivations were vanity and jealousy. In his dealings with other people he always appealed to both and then blamed his troubles on them as well. Under this influence, George suggests that the Grand Duke of Florence prove his generosity by paying for the artifacts with valuable books or coins—which the Forsters could then haggle over with dealers in London. With the personal assistance of first Fabroni and then Favi, they hoped to achieve a favorable arrangement.

George attached a dated and elaborately signed catalogue in French listing the types of artifacts he and his father were proposing to sell. In order to use it, Fabroni of course separated the catalogue from Forster's letter and thus

set it on a course which brought the catalogue alone to its present location in New Zealand.<sup>21</sup>

There is a gap in the next stage of documentation, so it is not known whether a deal was worked out in the way George suggested or not. But Florence can indeed boast that it possesses artifacts from Captain Cook's travels, mainly—but not entirely—objects from Cook's later third voyage.<sup>22</sup> To ethnographers and ethnologists, of course, it is important to determine as precisely as possible both date of collection and provenance of such artifacts. With the help of the catalogue in New Zealand, specialists may now be able to separate the Forster artifacts in Florence from those collected on the later journey.<sup>23</sup> But the catalogue is of interest in another way too. It shows the manner in which George Forster used the sale catalogue to advertise, a technique he shared with some of the most influential merchandizers of his period, including, for example, the furniture makers Chippendale and Heppelwhite. For these reasons, the catalogue is printed here in full in English translation.

#### Note on Artifacts brought back from the Pacific Ocean

The islands situated in the Pacific, scattered over the vast ocean with very great distances between them, are inhabited by various peoples whose customs, implements and tools are as different as they themselves are. These islands and their inhabitants have been described in the last "Voyage round the World" to which I refer as to the necessary details in respect of the names etc. of the various islands.

#### *O-Taheiti and adjacent islands* called Society Islands

1. The inhabitants of the islands clothe themselves in various types of materials or loin cloths made from the bark of a mulberry tree (*Morus papyrifera*) which they wind around the body several times. These materials are of different qualities and colours. They can be supplied in large pieces from which entire garments can be made, of various kinds. Other kinds of samples, one or two ells in length, are also available. In all, there exists a good range of 15 kinds of cloth of varying fineness.

2. Among the tools and ornaments of these people there is a type of shield or rather buckler made of woven reeds and covered with beautiful greenish-black feathers, studded with three rows of sharks' teeth and trimmed with dog skin and mother of pearl.

Also they have a stone adze or axe with wooden handle for agricultural use; a pounder or grooved device used for the making of cloth; thread made from the hair of their women from which they make ornaments for their dancers; a sling; a device made from several shells to be used as sinkers for their fish hooks; also several other small articles of lesser importance.

#### *Island of New Amsterdam* & the adjacent Friendly Isles

3. The people of these islands clothe themselves for the greater part in mats of which we brought back three different kinds as to the work, some of them open-work. They also clothe themselves in a material made from the bark of the mulberry tree as in O-Taheiti, but these are coated with a varnish and of different colour.

4. Their crafts are more varied than those of the Tahitians. We have wooden stools which they place under their heads when sleeping; several kinds of clubs or bludgeons made of hard wood, beautifully carved; a basket made from coconut fiber threaded with shells; a comb of a whitish wood. A neck ornament and nets for fishing; mother-of-pearl fish hooks; a musical instrument similar to the syrinx of classical times etc., etc.



### *New Zealand*

5. The belligerent people found in New Zealand are not very advanced in the arts. We brought back only some fish hooks crudely made, a very hard green potstone from which they make their axes and a small quantity of flax or hemp from which they make their garments.

### *New Caledonia & New Hebrides*

6. In the westernmost part of the Pacific we have discovered several new islands, hitherto unknown and inhabited by black peoples very different from all the others in the Pacific. These peoples, less civilized than the others, go about quite naked, without any clothing except some leaves with which they cover their private parts. They always carry arms, that is to say bows and arrows, javelins and bludgeons. They use a short length of cord, fairly well made, to throw their javelins with greater force and accuracy. We brought back some of these cords and arms of all kinds.

In addition to the artifacts we can also name the natural products, that is to say, plants from all the islands where we landed. Our herbarium amounts to 6-700 extremely rare species of which hardly any specimens are found in the collections of Europe and of which 2-300 have never been seen or described by any other botanist.

London.

17 February 1778

Jean Renaud Forster

Doctor of the University of Oxford in England. Member of the Royal Society of London, the Royal Society of Goettingen, the Royal Academy of Madrid, Correspondent of the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Literature and Paleography in Paris, Member of the Royal Academy of Upsala, the Physical Society of Danzig and that of Berlin.

and his son

George Forster

Member of the Royal Society of London, the Royal Academy of Madrid, the Physical Society of Berlin and Correspondent of the Royal Society of Goettingen.

After a brief introduction to the catalogue, Forster lists the artifacts by island groups. He begins with the best known location, Tahiti, the island which had captured the European imagination ever since the first descriptions of it were brought back by Captain Samuel Wallis in 1768. Knowing that he is offering these "curiosities" to a prince who was perhaps not of a scientific bent, Forster lists first a product which need not gather dust in a glass case: he offers tapa cloth from which "entire garments can be made, of various kinds." That would have been an exotic idea indeed. The other items are the ones considered "most worthy of belonging to the Cabinet of the Grand Duke." Most specific are the listings for Tahiti and New Amsterdam (Tonga) and their island groups. When he comes to New Zealand and Melanesia, Forster seems to have little hope that what appear to be cruder artifacts will inspire much admiration. In fact, as he indicated in the cover letter, he gives little more than a suggestion of the kinds of artifacts available, describing only the Tahitian breast ornament in any detail. Still the catalogue characterizes

the artifacts well enough that in many cases the specific objects and their provenances may be identifiable. In passing, the herbarium is also mentioned, although the numbers of plants and new species are surprisingly vague. Altogether the catalogue is brief and unspecialized, an offer to a dilettant. Whether Grand Duke Leopold, later Emperor Leopold II of the Austrian Empire, had costumes made from Tahitian tapa remains an enticing question. A few years after the Forster initiative he did, it is certain, furnish the apartment of his mistress with a picture showing the Hawaiians killing Captain Cook.<sup>24</sup>

As he had hoped in his second letter, George Forster was still in London when Fabroni arrived later in 1778. By November of that year, however, he had gone to Germany and found a teaching position at a school in Cassel, where he devoted himself for a period to the secret society of the Rosicrucians and to experimentation with alchemy, forsaking the relatively open fellowship of the freemasons. Two years later George Forster's correspondence with Fabroni had evidently faltered, for in an unpublished letter to Fabroni in Italy, the chemist Richard Kirwan passes on the elder Forster's complaint that Fabroni has not written to his son.<sup>25</sup> Despite the brevity of their friendship, the letters published here—the first two that Forster wrote his friend—are important both for the biographical detail they reveal about George Forster and for the potential ethnographic significance of the long separated catalogue of South Sea artifacts.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Michael E. Hoare, *The Tactless Philosopher; Johann Reinhold Forster 1729–1798* (Melbourne, Australia: Hawthorn Press, 1975), pp. 171–173.

<sup>2</sup> The most detailed account of this dispute is by Joseph Stuart Gordon, "Reinhold and Georg Forster in England, 1766–1780," Diss. Duke, 1975, pp. 213–30.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth P. Dawson, "Georg Forster's *Reise um die Welt*; A Travelogue in its Eighteenth-Century Context," Diss. Michigan, 1973.

<sup>4</sup> Carl Heinrich Titius, *Auszug aus dem Reise-Journal Herrn D. Carl Heinrich Titius . . . von seiner vorzüglich zu Besichtigung fremder Naturalien-Sammlungen in dem Jahr 1777 durch Deutschland, nach Holland, Engeland und Frankreich angestellten Reise*. In Jean Bernoulli, *Sammlung Kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*, X (Berlin: Bernoulli, 1784), 151–2.

<sup>5</sup> Wales attributes the authorship of *Voyage round the World* to the elder Forster rather than to George. William Wales, *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account of Captain Cook's last Voyage round the World in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* (London: J. Nourse, 1778), pp. 34–37. The dispute with Wales is described in detail by Hoare, pp. 173–78, and Gordon, pp. 239–47.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by S. Peter Dance, *Shell Collecting; An Illustrated History* (London: Faber, 1966), pp. 107–108. Letter in Richard Pulteney Correspondence, Library of The Linnean Society of London.

<sup>7</sup> This portrait or the engraving of it is often reproduced, especially in the picture books of the Cook voyages, e.g. Alistair Maclean, *Captain Cook* (New York: Doubleday, 1972), p. 108, as well as in the scholarly volumes such as Hoare, p. 38.

- <sup>8</sup> Portions of the Forsters' collections have recently been reexamined and displayed in England and the German Democratic Republic. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, "From the Islands of the South Seas 1773-4." An Exhibition of a Collection made on Captain Cook's Second Voyage of Discovery by J. R. Forster (Oxford, 1970). Horst Fiedler, Siegfried Scheibe, Ernst Germer, *Georg Forster—Naturforscher, Weltreisender, Humanist und Revolutionär—Seine Beziehungen zu Wörlitz* (Wörlitz, GDR: Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Wörlitz, Oranienbaum und Luisium, 1972).
- <sup>9</sup> Gordon, p. 295.
- <sup>10</sup> Fabroni's long career was only beginning when Forster met him. Eventually, among other activities, he became inspector of mines in Tuscany, studied the application of chemistry to the useful arts and to the painting of antiquity, assisted in determining the standards of weights and measurements, became director and administrator of the Museum of Florence, and was given charge of road construction in Northern Italy and the Alps. *Biographie Universelle* (1880).
- <sup>11</sup> I am indebted to the American Philosophical Society for permission to publish the letters, and I hereby wish to express my thanks to them, particularly to Murphy D. Smith and Carl F. Miller.
- <sup>12</sup> Presumably Friedrich Gottlob Born (1743-1807), later to be Professor of Philosophy in Leipzig. Georg Forster, *Briefe bis 1783*, ed. Siegfried Scheibe, Vol. XIII of *Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1978), p. 640.
- <sup>13</sup> Albert G. Mackey, *Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry and its Kindred Sciences*, ed. by W. Hughan and E. Hawkins (Chicago: Masonic History Company, 1921), I,2.
- <sup>14</sup> English translations of the two letters were prepared with assistance from Vicki Creed. The French texts can be found in Forster, *Briefe bis 1783*, pp. 111-12, 119-20.
- <sup>15</sup> Gordon, p. 297.
- <sup>16</sup> Nicholas Hans, "UNESCO of the Eighteenth Century: *La Loge des Neuf Soeurs* and its venerable Master, Benjamin Franklin," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 97(1953), 513-24. For LeLande see *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, VII (New York, 1973), 578-82.
- <sup>17</sup> For Rouelle see *Biographie Universelle* (1880). For D'Arcet see *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, III (New York, 1971), 560-61.
- <sup>18</sup> Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale, von ihm selbst geschrieben*, v. 3 (Berlin: Viehig, 1791), p. 324.
- <sup>19</sup> The younger Forster sent a copy of one of Bahrdt's school announcements to a very influential British dignitary who was also a Pacific traveller. On January 4, 1778, he wrote in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks that he was enclosing a "printed account of a new plan of Education lately established in Germany" and added that he and his father had both been offered posts there as teachers. Forster, *Briefe bis 1783*, pp. 112-14, 644-45.
- <sup>20</sup> Forster published the story of this mistreatment in his pamphlet "A Letter to the Earl of Sandwich." Reprinted in Vol. IV of *Georg Forsters Werke. Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972), pp. 80-81.
- <sup>21</sup> Permission to reproduce the catalogue has kindly been granted by the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, to whom I wish to express my sincere thanks. They also generously provided the translation of the catalogue. I am indebted to M. E. Hoare for locating the catalogue in the Alexander Turnbull Library, where it is Misc. Ms. 1169, and to Adrienne Kaeppler for making it known to me. The critical edition of Forster's letters, *Briefe bis 1783*, p. 651, lists the catalogue as unfound.

- <sup>22</sup> In 1785, well before the sale of Leverian Museum items from which Florence obtained most of its present collection, an elegy to Captain Cook was written which already contained the claim: "He is celebrated in this happy climate of Tuscany, where in the Royal Cabinet, many of the arms, idols, and various utensils, which he collected in his voyages are publickly displayed." Michelangiolo Gianetti, *Elogy of Captain Cook composed and publickly recited before the Royal Academy of Florence. Translated by a Member of the Royal Academy of Florence*. (Florence: Printed for Gaetano Cambiagi, Printer of his Royal Highness, 1785), p. 87. For a description of the source of other Cook artifacts in Florence, see Roland Force, Maryanne Force and Adrienne L. Kaeppler, *Art and Artefacts of the Eighteenth Century*, Second Edition, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press), forthcoming.
- <sup>23</sup> For an example of how the Oxford Forster catalogue has been used for this purpose, see Adrienne Kaeppler, "The Use of Documents in Identifying Ethnographic Specimens from the Voyages of Captain Cook," *Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972), 195-200.
- <sup>24</sup> Adam Wandruszka, *Leopold II, Erzherzog von Österreich, Grossherzog von Toskana, König von Ungarn und Böhmen, Römischer Kaiser* (Vienna: Verlag Herold [1965]), vol. 2, p. 166.
- <sup>25</sup> Richard Kirwan to Giovanni Fabroni, letter dated May 31, 1780, in the American Philosophical Society Library.